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NON-EUROPEAN POLICIES IN THE UNION,

AND

THE MEASURE OF THEIR SUCCESS.

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NON-EUROPEAN POLICIES IN THE UNION, AND THE
MEASURE OF THEIR SUCCESS.

I. NON-EUROPEAN POLICIES PRIOR TO THE
WORLD WAR IN 1939.

Pre-Union Attitudes.

As the period of European migration and wars with the Native peoples came to a close in South Africa, the African tribes became grouped in the scattered areas where they had been driven by European expansion, while the White people settled down to develop farms and urban centres in the parts of the country they had conquered.

While Cape Coloured labour was mainly employed on the farms and in the towns of the older-established Cape Colony, this was not available in the territories to the east and north, and European farmers, householders and traders began to look to the Africans for their labour force. At the same time it was becoming evident that the tribal areas were too small to support the African people on the old basis of subsistence farming: the tribes could no longer move on freely as the land they occupied became exhausted, and, as years went by, increasing numbers of Africans were forced to become tenants on European farms, or to go to the European areas to work as migratory labourers. Even so the flow of labour was inadequate in some parts of the country, and further, migrant African workers were totally unacquainted with the ways of Western civilization. It thus came about that Indian labourers were introduced to work on the Natal sugar estates.

Except in the Orange Free State (other than the Thaba 'Nchu area) and in certain parts of the Transvaal, there were no restrictions in the early days on the acquisition of land by Africans, but, of course, few of them could afford to purchase farms from Europeans or to buy plots in urban areas. African urban workers usually leased small pieces of ground on the outskirts of the towns where they could build huts or rough shanties, and owners of such plots often erected cheap dwellings for renting to Non-Europeans. In this haphazard way slums developed on the borders of European towns. Local authorities had, on the whole, a free hand in the management of their Non-European communities.

The first labour legislation of note consisted of the Masters and Servants Laws, introduced in all the four territories in turn. These laws contained provisions relating to entry into contract, wage fixation, supply of food and in some cases quarters by masters, and duties of masters in case of sickness of servants. Both masters and servants became liable to prosecution for breaches of contract or failure to fulfil their obligations. The chief occupations subject to the legislation were those which were carried on by Non-Europeans; and consequently the penal sanction was invoked chiefly in disputes between European masters and Non-European servants. It could be termed a criminal offence for Non-European "servants" other than daily-paid workers to take part in a strike.

The attitude of Europeans to the political status of Non-Europeans differed in the various territories. In the Cape Colony and to a lesser extent in Natal, the principle of equal rights for all civilized persons was accepted. The franchise had been extended to all male adults subject to an educational and income or property qualification, the same for all racial groups: but in Natal a difficult and restrictive procedure for the registration of Non-European voters had been set up. In the Orange Free State and Transvaal Republics, on the other hand, no equality between White and Black, either in Church or State, was admitted.

Post-Union Segregationalist Policy.

When the National Convention met in 1909 to prepare for Union, one of the difficulties that had to be resolved was the varying Non-European policies

of the four Provinces. It was decided to leave matters much as they were. The existing franchise position was retained, except that the right of Africans and Coloured persons (including Asiatics) to sit in Parliament, which had been implicitly theirs in the Cape, was withdrawn, and it was agreed that no further applications for registration as voters of Asiatics or Africans in Natal should be granted. Liberals in the Cape hoped that their Non-European policy would spread gradually to the north: in fact, mainly through fear of economic competition, the reverse was the case.

With the opening of the diamond and gold mines and the growth of manufacturing industry which followed, large numbers of Non-European workers had been recruited. The Masters and Servants Laws were deemed inadequate for the control of these workers; and in 1911 a Native Labour Regulation Act was passed, providing additional protection for employers against breaches of duly-attested contracts, and for employees against recruiting abuses, inadequate compound conditions or health requirements. Provision was made for compensation in the case of injury or death sustained in the course of duty, but not for fixation of minimum wages nor for negotiation between employers and African workers.

The Mines and Works Amendment Act, passed in the same year, was designed to control conditions of work and safety for all employees in mines, mills and other establishments using machinery. One section of the Act, however, as subsequently amended, limited the granting of certificates of competency for engine driving, blasting, surveying, and many other skilled occupations to "Europeans, Cape Coloured and Mauritius Creoles or St. Helena persons". The Act thus debarred Africans and Asiatics from doing much of the better-paid work, whatever skill they acquired. It became known as the "colour-bar" Act.

A pattern of segregation was then imposed in rural areas. The Natives Land Act of 1913 demarcated about 10½ million morgen of land (7.3 per cent. of the area of the Union) as Native Reserves. These were areas occupied mainly by Africans at the time. Europeans were forbidden to acquire land in the Reserves, and Africans were prohibited from acquiring land from Europeans in rural areas outside the Reserves (except in the Cape) unless the Governor-General gave his consent.

The Reserves were inadequate in size at the time they were created; and over the years as the population grew and the soil became progressively more exhausted, more and more of the Africans were forced to become migrant workers in European areas. Their labour was needed by the Whites: in fact the process was hastened by the imposition of taxes which had to be paid in cash. In 1918 there were 358,973 African employees on European farms: their number increased to 435,185 in 1925 and 658,412 in 1937 (Agricultural Census figures).

The urban African population grew at an even faster rate, however. In 1911, 12.6 per cent. of the African population, or 508,142 persons were in the towns: equivalent figures for 1936 were 17.3 per cent., or 1,141,642 persons. This urban African population was, moreover, becoming increasingly stabilized. Women formed 19.2 per cent. of the total in 1911, 25.2 per cent. in 1921, and 31.3 per cent. in 1936.(1)

It was not only the Africans who were moving to the towns during these years: the same process was taking place at an even faster rate amongst the Europeans. Many came to assured positions in the rapidly-developing industries, and others drifted to the towns in search of work because they had been forced off the land. According to the laws of family inheritance, on the death of the head of the family a farm was divided up between the sons. As this process continued many of the plots became uneconomic in size, and their owners had to sell out and seek work elsewhere.

The Europeans who were forced off the land were often the less able amongst the farmers, and found it extremely difficult to adjust themselves to urban conditions, many of them degenerating into "poor whites". Fears of black competition consequently became intensified. There were large-scale strikes /...

(1) Census figures.

strikes on the Reef in 1922 following an attempt by the Chamber of Mines, which had to be abandoned, to cut production costs by substituting African labour for white in certain classes of work. Regulations framed under the Mines and Works Amendment Act imposed further restrictions on the advancement of Non-Europeans. In 1924, the government decided to reserve many unskilled posts in the public service for "civilized" labour at rates of pay above those generally prevailing for unskilled work. Various Commissions were appointed to report on urban Africans and conditions under which they should be employed.

The Stallard (Transvaal Local Government) Commission in 1922 established the basic premise upon which subsequent urban African legislation was based. It considered that Africans should be allowed within municipal areas in so far and for so long as their presence was demanded by the wants of the white population; should depart therefrom when they ceased to minister to the needs of the white man; and while in urban areas should live in segregated areas. The Natives (Urban Areas) Act, passed the following year, was framed in terms of this policy. It provided that each municipality, subject to a certain measure of government control, was responsible for the Africans in its area: it was required to provide adequate housing for them in segregated areas, to control influx of Africans into the area and to remove "redundant" Africans, to establish machinery for the registration of service contracts, and to set up Native Advisory Boards and Native Revenue Accounts.

Economic forces, however, proved stronger than the influx control measures and the restrictions on Non-European advancement. Secondary industry was developing at an impressive pace. In 1915/16 there were 3,998 manufacturing industrial establishments: by 1930 their number had increased to 7,695. (1) They employed 123,000 Non-Europeans in 1927, and 204,000 by 1937. And all sections of the population, especially the Europeans, benefitted from this expansion. The National geographical income (expressed in constant prices based on 1910 figures) rose from £128,557,409 in 1911 to £190,769,231 in 1931. (2) During this period the position of Non-Europeans, under industrial legislation, gradually began to change. Although pass-bearing Africans were excluded from the provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924, the Apprenticeship Act of 1922 did not ostensibly differentiate between the different racial groups, and under the Wage Act of 1925 wages have been determined in accordance with job classifications, and not according to the race of the employee.

The principle of social segregation, however, became still more firmly entrenched. Various amendments were made to the Natives (Urban Areas) Act which extended the powers of control of Africans vested in municipal authorities; and the Immorality Act of 1927 prohibited extra-marital intercourse between Europeans and Africans.

Attempt at Final Settlement.

In spite of the rapid adjustments Africans were making to urban life and industrial conditions, politicians considered that the position could be stabilized in such a way as to safeguard the interests of both black and white. The "Hertzog settlement" of 1936/1937 purported to solve the "Native question" finally. It strengthened measures for social and political segregation, but granted certain concessions to Africans.

In terms of the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936, 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ million morgen of land were earmarked for transference to the Reserves; Parliament undertook to vote £10,000,000 over a ten-year period for purchase of this land; and a corporate body called the South African Native Trust was set up to control

and /...

- (1) From paper by Dr. H. J. van Eck, entitled Secondary Industry in the Union. 1953.
- (2) Calculations by the writer from figures given in Dr. van Eck's paper, op cit.

and develop the land acquired. The right of Africans in the Cape to purchase land from Europeans in rural areas outside the Reserves was abolished.

The Representation of Natives Act, passed the same year, placed African voters of the Cape on a separate voters' roll: provided that they should elect three European members to the House of Assembly and two to the Cape Provincial Council; provided for four additional European Senators to be elected by Africans of the Union; and created the Natives Representative Council, an advisory body.

Thirdly, amendments made in 1937 to the Natives (Urban Areas) Act further strengthened measures for control of influx of Africans to the towns, and brought urban land policy into line with the 1913 Land Act by prohibiting acquisition of land by Africans from Non-Africans in urban areas except with the Governor-General's consent. A majority of Members of Parliament still believed that industrial development was possible without the creation of a settled urban African population, and that Africans were in the towns as temporary migrant workers only.

II. THE WAR YEARS.

The growth of secondary and tertiary industry in the towns.

During the period 1939 to 1946, many new secondary industries sprang up in South Africa to supply goods which the country was, for the time being, unable to import. More important than this, large new industries were created to produce items needed for the war effort. The number of manufacturing industrial establishments increased from 7,695 in 1930 to 10,034 in 1940 and 14 809 in 1950.(1) The gross value of their production (expressed in constant prices based on 1910 figures) rose from £90 million in 1930 to £175 million in 1940 and £432 million in 1950.(2)

A greatly expanded labour force was, of course, required to make this industrial expansion possible. European women were employed to an increasing extent, but a small proportion of the requirements only could be met from their ranks, and the only possible solution was to employ Non-Europeans. During the same period the Government had little time or money to devote to the expansion and development of Native Reserves, which deteriorated progressively and became more and more overcrowded. Africans were thus increasingly being forced out of the Reserves just at a time when their labour was required in the towns. Because of the overpopulation in Native areas, many of these Africans had no land rights and came to regard the towns as their permanent homes.

The Social and Economic Planning Council showed⁽³⁾ that whereas the total African population of the Union increased by 18.3 per cent. between 1936 and 1946, the African population of the nine principal towns increased by 51.6 per cent. during the same period. There were 1,141,642 Africans in urban areas in 1936, and 1,689,053 in 1946.(4) More and more of the Africans were bringing their wives and children to the towns and settling there permanently: there were 356,874 African women in urban areas in 1936 and 642,190 ten years later.

This accelerated drift to the towns did not occur only amongst the Africans. Census figures show that the following percentages of the total numbers in each racial group were in urban areas in the years mentioned:

1936 /...

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- (1) From Dr. van Eck's paper, op cit.
 - (2) Calculations by the writer from figures given in Dr. van Eck's paper.
 - (3) 13th Report of Social and Economic Planning Council, pages 21 and 22.
 - (4) Census figures.

	<u>1936</u>	<u>1946</u>
Whites	65.24	72.46
Coloured people	53.91	58.15
Asiatics	66.27	70.28
Africans	17.31	22.99

The working population engaged in manufacturing industry in 1946 was 47.2 per cent. African, 35.0 per cent. European, 14.1 per cent. Coloured and 3.6 per cent. Asiatic.(1) Between 1937/38 and 1947/48 the actual numbers employed increased as follows: Europeans, 143,760 to 210,438; Coloured, 35,754 to 74,795; Asiatics, 12,802 to 18,812; and Africans, 156,204 to 308,080.(2)

Large numbers of Non-Europeans were engaged in other mainly urban occupations. Census figures in 1946 showed the following position:

	<u>Europeans</u>	<u>Coloured</u>	<u>Asiatics</u>	<u>Africans</u>
Manufacturing industry	189,824	76,562	19,619	255,828
Commerce and finance	140,035	18,442	19,086	72,033
Transport and communications	122,570	13,836	2,178	68,751
Public administration, defence and professions	143,997	20,240	4,561	104,463

In addition, of course, there were very large numbers of Non-European domestic servants, mine workers and others in or near the towns.

Through force of circumstances, Non-Europeans began to surmount conventional colour-bars. According to Wage Board investigations, which relate to large sections of the manufacturing industry and also to the distributive and catering trades and the motor industry, of the skilled workers whose wages were regulated between 1937 and 1948, 16.2 per cent. were Non-Europeans. Of the semi-skilled operative workers, 66.2 per cent. were Non-Europeans.(3)

With the increased absorption of Non-Europeans into industry, further discriminatory labour legislation was passed. The Factories, Machinery and Building Works Act of 1941, which provided for registration and control of factories, regulation of hours and conditions of work, etc., contained a clause empowering the Governor-General to make different regulations for different classes of persons on the basis of race or colour in respect of accommodation facilities and conveniences to be provided in factories. As Africans were not considered to be "employees" under the Industrial Conciliation Act, there was inadequate machinery to deal with certain strikes of African workers that took place during the war years, consequently the government introduced War Measure No. 145 of 1942 which remained in force for eleven years. It prohibited strikes, and provided for the appointment by the Minister of Labour of an arbitrator if, in his opinion, a labour dispute affecting Africans existed in any trade, industry or undertaking.

Inter-racial problems which were accentuated during the war years.

Through the very rapid expansion of secondary industry and the increased absorption of Non-Europeans that occurred during the war years, a number of problems were created or accentuated.

Firstly, European farmers complained that their labourers were leaving for the towns, and pressed for stricter influx control measures and control of labour /...

- (1) Report of Industrial Legislation Commission, UG.62/1951, Table 21.
- (2) Dr. H. J. van Eck, 1953. Some Aspects of the S. A. Industrial Revolution, pages 13 and 14.
- (3) From Report of Wage Board included in Report of Department of Labour for 1948.

labour. It is interesting to examine in how far their complaints were justified. The Industrial Legislation Commission later calculated(1) that in 1921, 31.6 per cent. of the working Europeans, 36.5 per cent. of the working Coloured people, and 34.9 per cent. of the working Asiatics, were still engaged in the farming industry; by 1946 these proportions had decreased to 18.9 per cent., 27.9 per cent. and 17.3 per cent., respectively. Equivalent figures for Africans were not available; but the Commission showed that the number of African men engaged in farming occupations increased by only 2.2 per cent. from 1936 to 1946, while in all other industries excluding mining there was a very large increase (75.0 per cent. in the case of manufacturing). The Fagan (Native Laws) Commission stated that there were 2,492,650 Africans in European farming areas in 1936, and 2,905,380 in 1946: an increase of 16.5 per cent. These figures include wives and children of full-time labourers and also labour tenants and squatters. Occupational census figures show that over the ten-year period there was an increase in the number of Coloured people and Africans engaged in forestry, fishing and farming on farms owned by persons other than Africans, but a decrease in the number of Europeans and Asiatics. The figures are as follows:

	<u>1936</u>	<u>1946</u>
Europeans	181,409	167,822
Coloured	96,262	97,453
Asiatics(2)	18,056	13,691
Africans	659,000	737,942
	<u>954,727</u>	<u>1,016,908</u>

The position was, then, that the actual numbers of African farm workers increased during the war years. Probably, however, a large part of this increase was made up of women. It is certain that numbers of young African men were attracted from the European-owned farms to the towns by the far higher cash wages paid in secondary industry, the better educational opportunities for their children, and the glamour of urban life. Further, the actual increase in the number of African farm workers was probably insufficient to keep pace with the expansion of the farming industry. But it should not be overlooked that while the number of Africans working on European farms increased, the number of Europeans decreased. Europeans, too, were attracted by the city lights. And lastly, the question of wages speaks for itself. Figures for the same year are not available, but there were no startling changes from 1947 to 1949. In 1947 the average annual wages on farms, including the cash value of clothes, food, wine, tobacco, etc. but excluding the rental value of free housing, amounted to £201 for European males and £32 for Non-European males (3). In 1949, the average wages in private manufacturing industries were £558 for European males and £128 for Non-European males.(4)

The second problem that became accentuated during the war years was the shortage of African labour on the mines. Over the ten-year period 1936 to 1946, the actual numbers of Europeans engaged in mining and quarrying rose from 46,936 to 53,557, and the number of Africans from 393,020 to 442,578.(5) As the range of mining activity widened, however, particularly, during the war, in so far as copper, asbestos and coal were concerned, this labour had to be spread over a wider field, and the over-all shortage became progressively greater. African mine labour is increasingly difficult to obtain. Although the real wages paid in manufacturing industry may not be much larger than those offered

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- (1) Report of the Industrial Legislation Commission of Enquiry, UG.62/1951, paras. 100 and Table 20.
- (2) Figure for Africans in 1946 estimated on basis of proportion of labourers to owners and occupiers in 1936, as given on page 114, "Handbook of Race Relations in South Africa", ed. Dr. Ellen Hellmann.
- (3) From Table 9, Report on Agricultural and Pastoral Production, 1946-47. Agricultural census no. 21. UG. 57/1949.
- (4) From page 9, The Potential of Industrial Development in South Africa Bearing in Mind Limitations in Natural Resources, Dr. H. J. van Eck, 1952.
- (5) Census Figures.

by the mines, Africans are attracted by cash wages and also by the possibility of family life, even under slum conditions. The gold mines are becoming increasingly dependent on a labour supply recruited from beyond the Union's borders: in 1938, of the Africans employed by members and contractors of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, Ltd., only 48.27 per cent. came from the Union: by 1950 this percentage had fallen to 38.56.(1)

Thirdly, the housing shortage in urban areas increased to an alarming extent. As is described above, prior to the passing of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act in 1923 (which made municipalities responsible for providing adequate accommodation for the Africans in their areas) insanitary, overcrowded Non-European slums had grown up on the outskirts of the towns. Even after the Act was passed, few local authorities made any strenuous efforts to provide housing. In order to encourage them to do so, the government from 1934 provided sub-economic loans for Native housing; but it proved impossible to make up the backlog caused by decades of neglect and at the same time to provide for the increasing demand. During the war years building materials were diverted to war purposes and comparatively few houses could be built. In 1944, the housing shortage was recognised as being a national crisis. The National Housing and Planning Commission was created to make loan funds available on a new and more favourable basis, and was empowered, in cases where local authorities were unable or unwilling to provide houses, itself to undertake housing schemes and to recover the expenditure from the local authority concerned. Yet in spite of this the shortage grew progressively worse, and by 1947, some 154,000 dwellings and accommodation for 106,900 single persons were needed in urban areas for Africans alone.(2)

A fourth problem was the increasing fear amongst Europeans of what they deemed to be the threat to the maintenance of "white" civilization through the influx of Africans to the towns. The government vainly tried to restrict this influx: in terms of War Measure of 1946, Africans were prohibited from purchasing train tickets to an industrial centre unless they were in possession of certificates proving that employment was available for them there. Local authorities were encouraged to make use of powers granted to them under the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, which was consolidated and re-enacted in 1945, to restrict the entry of Africans. But the influx continued.

Europeans in urban areas of Natal, and to a lesser extent of the Transvaal, were concerned not only about the influx of Africans, but also about the fact that Indians were purchasing property in "white" suburbs. In 1943 the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Act was passed, which became known as the "Pegging" Act, for it pegged the position regarding the transfer of land as between European and Indian, except under permit, for three years, during which period the question of Indian penetration was to be investigated by the Broome Commission.

A sixth question that engaged the minds of authorities was the political awakening of the Non-European people. Inspired by increasing knowledge of Western civilization, wider horizons gained through service in expeditionary forces, and the terms of the Atlantic Charter, Non-Europeans were demanding a greater share in the conduct of their affairs. The Natives Representative Council and the Location Advisory Boards system had proved to be failures: Africans were no longer content with merely advisory powers. The impotence of the former body, which Africans termed a "toy telephone", was demonstrated as soon as it began to press for the removal of restrictions on African freedom of movement. Eventually members refused to co-operate any longer, stalemate was reached at the 1946 session, and for two years no further meetings were called. It was not only the Africans who were dissatisfied. Asiatics had

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(1) Figures from relevant reports of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, Ltd.

(2) According to survey conducted by Native Affairs Department.

the franchise in the Cape only, and there it applied only to men who were literate and earned £50 a year or owned fixed property to the value of £75. Coloured men could qualify for the franchise in the Cape on the same terms and in Natal if they were literate and earned £96 a year or owned property to this value. The Asiatics, particularly, were pressing for greater franchise rights. A Coloured Advisory Council was created in 1943, and this led to serious political cleavage amongst the Coloured people, opponents of the move interpreting the establishment of the Council as evidence that, in spite of assurances to the contrary, the government contemplated segregation for their people.

This, then, was the troubled scene in the inter-racial field that had to be faced by General Smuts's government.

III. PRE-ELECTION POLICIES.

United Party.

After the war ended the authorities had more time to spare to seek solutions to the mounting inter-racial problems, but it was not possible for much to be achieved by General Smuts's government before the general election of 1948.

The most important action taken was the appointment of the Native Laws (Fagan) Commission which reported in February, 1948. After a painstaking examination of the position in both rural and urban areas, the Commission concluded that the townward movement of Africans was a natural economic phenomenon engendered by necessity, - a movement which could possibly be regulated but could not be reversed. It was impossible for the Reserves to carry an increased population; in their present condition they were incapable of supporting the existing inhabitants. Africans were therefore in the towns to stay; the premise on which legislation for their control had been based was untenable and it was urgently necessary for such legislation to be revised.

General Smuts had already accepted the fact of economic integration. In 1947 he said(1) that industrial development must be promoted to the maximum extent, which could only be achieved by making the fullest use of the country's manpower whatever its colour. The African would have to be integrated into the country's industrial system. In May, 1948 he announced(2) that if returned to power his government would accept the findings of the Fagan Commission and implement its proposals, which included measures for the greater stabilization of labour, financial and executive powers for African councils in urban areas, establishment of a network of labour bureaux and simplification of the pass system, and the setting up of a government sub-department to take control of, and where necessary establish villages for, congregations of Africans outside municipal boundaries. An Industrial Conciliation (Natives) Bill was introduced, providing for some form of recognition for African trade unions.

Secondly, General Smuts in 1948 met a number of leading Africans and made proposals for renewed contact. The Natives Representative Council had consisted of the Secretary for Native Affairs as chairman, five further ex-officio European members, four Africans nominated by the Governor-General, and twelve Africans elected through electoral colleges. General Smuts suggested that the official members be withdrawn and the nominated membership abolished; that the number of African elected members be increased to 50; and that the Council elect its own chairman from amongst its members. He proposed that it be granted power of subsidiary legislation for Native areas and power to impose taxes on Africans; and suggested that such proportion of the amount collected in Native

General /...

(1) Report in Star of 23rd October, 1947, of address given by General Smuts in Cape Town.

(2) Speech at mass meeting of the United Party, 17th May, 1948.

General Tax as Parliament might decide be allocated to the Council, which would then become responsible for providing funds for General and Local Council services. These General and Local Councils, he suggested, should consist entirely of African elected members under the chairmanship, as soon as possible, of an African. Elected Africans should immediately take over the chair of the Transkeian and Ciskeian General Councils. Before these proposals had been seriously considered by Africans there was a change in government.

Attention was given, too, to the Indian question. General Smuts's policy was embodied in the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, passed in 1946. The first chapter of this Act extended the scope of the "Pegging" Act to cover the whole of Natal and the Transvaal. Except in certain areas defined in schedules, Asiatics were prohibited from buying or occupying any fixed property except under permit. The second chapter provided for parliamentary representation of Indians in Natal and the Transvaal: there are none in the Orange Free State and, as is described above, subject to certain qualifications Indian men in the Cape already possessed the franchise. In terms of the new Act, Indian men in Natal and the Transvaal who had passed Standard Six, were Union nationals, and possessed an income of not less than £84 a year or fixed property to the value of £250, would be enfranchised and placed on a separate voters' roll to elect three European representatives to the Assembly. The Act also provided for two additional European Senators, one appointed and one elected, to represent Indians, and for the representation of Indians in the Natal Provincial Council by two additional members who might be Europeans or Asiatics. This second chapter of the Act was never implemented and was subsequently repealed by the new government.

In regard to remaining questions, General Smuts announced that housing would become a national responsibility and that all possible resources would be pooled in an effort to overcome the shortage. Sub-economic housing would be subsidized up to 100 per cent. He continued to regard the Cape Coloured people as being more closely allied to the European than to the African section, and entitled to rights commensurate with this position. And he hoped that through the introduction of a system of labour bureaux, African labour could be guided to the places where it was most needed and the farm labour supply thus safeguarded.

General Smuts, then, looked to the further economic development of the country, and, while advocating social and political segregation, preferred to lay down no cast-iron policy but to meet inter-racial difficulties as they arose.

Nationalist Party.

The Nationalist Party, which formed the main opposition group, accused the United Party of having no clear-cut Native policy. It pointed to the undoubted danger of allowing things to drift; it played with skill on the fear which all Europeans in South Africa have of an ultimate 'black domination', and it asserted emphatically that its purpose was not to do the African an injustice but, rather, to give him ampler room for developing his own national identity separately from the European.⁽¹⁾ It rejected the conclusion of the Fagan Commission that Africans were in the towns to stay, and propounded an apartheid doctrine, which is described in greater detail in the pages which follow.

Result of the General Election.

The inter-racial situation was, naturally, not the only issue before the country, but remaining issues are beyond the scope of this article.

In /...

(1) Policy as summarised in Chapter VII of Peoples and Policies of South Africa by Leo Marquard.

In May, 1948, the Nationalist - Afrikaner Party Coalition was elected to power with a majority over the combined opposition groups of five seats in a House of 159 members. The Afrikaner Party was subsequently merged with the Nationalists, and at the next election in 1953 they increased their majority to 29.

IV. APARTHEID POLICIES.

When the new government first came into power in 1948, the country was in some doubt as to exactly what its leaders meant by their apartheid policy. Several versions had been propounded. As the S. A. Bureau of Racial Affairs subsequently said in an official statement, (1) "A considerable portion of the European population understands 'apartheid' as being the broad policy by which the survival of the European race in South Africa and the retention of political control in the hands of the Europeans will be ensured. They have given little serious attention to the question of how this is to be achieved in practice." The various conceptions of apartheid were gradually defined more clearly, however, and are outlined below.

S. A. B. R. A. policy.

The S. A. Bureau of Racial Affairs outlines its apartheid policy as follows: (2) "By a policy of free and separate development, we must understand the territorial separation of European and Bantu, and the provision of areas which must serve as national and political homes for the different Bantu communities and as permanent residential areas for the Bantu population or the major portion of it." It is of opinion (page 34) that the granting of political rights to the Bantu is altogether impossible in a mixed community, since such a step would endanger the present position and survival of the European population. If this danger is to be avoided, S.A.B.R.A. considers, and at the same time the Europeans are not to violate their own conscience and moral standards, a policy of separate development will prove the only alternative.

S.A.B.R.A. recognizes (page 19) that "the Bantu worker has become essential to the country's economy", but considers that, although great sacrifices would be necessary, the separation policy is practicable provided that the European population themselves desire it. No large-scale and hurried withdrawal of the Bantu from the European economy is envisaged. S.A.B.R.A. recommends that as a first step the Native areas should be re-arranged into larger units, and developed to such an extent that the Bantu and their families will no longer need to leave them, and that these areas may become a counter-attraction for the Bantu who are already in the European urban areas. Meanwhile the permanent settlement of Bantu in the European areas should be limited, and the European economy should make increasing use of migratory labour.

Dutch Reformed Churches.

The Congress of Federated Dutch Reformed Churches adopted the policy of eventual total separation when it met in Bloemfontein in April, 1950. Congress was of opinion that in a European-dominated society, Non-Europeans will always be at a disadvantage and will never be given a fair opportunity of developing to the utmost of their capabilities. Congress therefore advocated a gradual total separation of the white and the non-white groups. This policy would require the complete re-organization of the existing economic structure so that eventually all industries would be wholly manned by Europeans. The implementation of this policy, it was recognized, would call for great sacrifice.

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- (1) Integration or Separate Development?, Stellenbosch, 1952. Page 14.
- (2) Ibid, page 18.

The findings of Congress have not been adopted by the various synods of the Dutch Reformed Church. Many of these have discussed apartheid, but no official view as to the Church's attitude has crystallized out. The Federal Missionary Council has since concerned itself more particularly with the spiritual aspect of inter-racial matters, and in November, 1953, convened a conference of White leaders of Protestant Churches to consider the application of Christian principles in a multi-racial land, with special reference to the extension of the Kingdom of God amongst the Non-European peoples of South Africa.

The Present Government.

Shortly after the Bloemfontein Congress of the Federated Dutch Reformed Churches, the Prime Minister said in the Assembly, (1) "What they resolved was that we should have total or complete territorial apartheid. Well, if one could attain total territorial apartheid, if it were practicable, everybody would admit that it would be an ideal state of affairs. It would be an ideal state, but that is not the policy of our party When I was asked in this House on previous occasions whether that was what we are aiming at I clearly stated ... that total territorial separation was impracticable under present circumstances in South Africa, where our whole economic structure is to a large extent based on Native labour ... One must found one's policy on what is possible of achievement".

Earlier, he had said, (2) "The principle of apartheid ... is that we have two separate spheres, not necessarily with an absolute territorial dividing line, not separate territorial areas". He went on to explain that these two separate spheres must exist in the social, political, residential, and, so far as practicable, industrial fields. In a letter to the African National Congress (3) he expressed the view that the road to peace and goodwill lay in the acceptance of the fact that separate population groups existed and in giving each group the opportunity of developing its ambitions and capabilities in its own area, or within its own community, on its own lines, in the service of its own people.

The Minister of Native Affairs has recently said (4) that there are two main trends of thought on the question of integration. One group accepted integration as unavoidable, and the other opposed it and sought a solution, having regard to all the difficulties. The second attitude was that of the government, which wanted to keep South Africa white and wanted separation in all spheres between Europeans and Non-Europeans to continue to be applied to an increasing extent. "The Nationalist Party says, he remarked, 'Our immediate task is to lay the foundations and in regard to segregation to go a certain distance which is within immediate reach'."

This, then, is the government's broad Non-European policy. Its application in the economic, social and political fields will now be examined in greater detail.

V. APARTHEID IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD.

Control of Movement of Labour.

In explaining details of his apartheid policy, the Prime Minister has said, (5) "In the first place, we should seriously take into account the influx of Natives into European areas ... We are taking measures ... to ensure that this harmful /...

- (1) Hansard of 12th April, 1950, columns 4141 - 4142.
- (2) Assembly Hansard of 2nd September, 1948, column 1486.
- (3) Letter by Dr. Malan to African National Congress, 29th January, 1952.
- (4) Assembly Hansard 3 of 1954, 18th February, 1954, columns 795 - 797.
- (5) Assembly Hansard of 12th April, 1950, column 4142.

harmful flow of Natives ... is checked as far as possible, without doing harm to the demand for labour in the European areas".

Earlier, he had defined his Party's policy in regard to African labour for the towns. "There are", he said, (1) "three classes of such Natives that we must separate from each other in this connection. First we have ... detribalised Natives who reside in European areas and who have always resided there ... It is not the intention to send those Natives to the Reserves ... Then there are Natives who come from the Reserves and go to urban areas because they are required there for labour ... Such Natives must not be regarded as permanent residents of European areas. They are there for a temporary purpose, to earn money by obtaining employment there, but when they have completed that work they must return to their own areas ... Then there is a third class, the surplus Natives ... who come from the platteland or from the Reserves. They look for work in the towns, but are unable to find it. Steps must be taken without the slightest delay in conjunction with the municipalities to send them back to the Reserves or to the farms".

What steps has the government taken to carry out this policy? Firstly, in November, 1949, at the request of twenty-one local authorities (nineteen of them in the Transvaal) a proclamation was published closing the urban areas concerned to the entry of Africans except for those able to prove they were temporary visitors, and those whom the local authority was prepared to allow to seek work or to take up employment for which they had been engaged. Further steps were taken in 1952. In terms of the Native Laws Amendment Act, all 146 urban areas of the Union became "proclaimed" areas, in which influx control operated, unless exemption was granted. No African would in future be permitted to remain in a "proclaimed" area for longer than ~~seventy-two~~ hours without a permit unless he was born and permanently resident there, or had worked there for not less than fifteen years, or had worked in the area with the same employer for not less than ten years. Provision was made for the summary removal of tribes or idle or undesirable individuals. The Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Bill of 1954 makes one concession in that permission to re-enter an area will automatically be granted to an African returning to the same employer within twelve months, but also proposes a new restriction: that local authorities be empowered, when issuing permits to seek work, so specify in what class of work the African concerned may be employed. Further restrictions are to be placed, too, on the employment of "foreign" Africans.

A second line of action has been to establish machinery for guiding and regulating the flow of African labour. A network of labour bureaux has been set up in terms of the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1949. Every male African work-seeker now has to register with the nearest bureau, and is permitted to choose which of available posts he wishes to accept. When Africans from the Reserves wish to go to work in urban areas, the local bureau advises them in which towns vacancies exist. They are not allowed to proceed to towns where there is a surplus of labour, but may choose between towns where there are suitable openings. When Africans already in urban areas lose their present posts, and no suitable vacancies exist, unless they are considered to be permanently urbanized as defined above, (see previous paragraph), they are "endorsed out" of the area.

The educational qualifications for certificates of exemption from the pass laws have been raised, but further classes of Africans (social workers, etc.) are now granted automatic exemption. In terms of the Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act of 1952, African men are gradually being issued with reference books to replace the various papers they previously had to carry: to this extent passes have been abolished, but, as is explained above, restrictions on freedom of movement remain. The reference books are producible on demand.

The Minister of Native Affairs was asked in the Senate on 4th February, 1953, how successful the influx control measures had been. He replied (2) that measures /...

(1) Assembly Hansard of 1st September, 1948, column 1325.

(2) Senate Hansard No. 2 of 1953, Cols. 68 and 215.

measures taken by the Government had prevented 100,000 Africans who would otherwise have been in the cities from entering urban areas. From the 1st March, 1953 (when the labour bureaux system came into operation) until the end of that year, 10,044 Africans from urban areas had been transferred to rural areas and placed in employment in the agricultural industry.

Yet the urban African population continues to grow. In 1946 it totalled 1,689,053 (642,190 females), and by 1951 had increased to 2,011,333 (762,277 females). The percentages of the total African population in urban areas were 23.0 in 1946 and 23.6 in 1951. The rate of growth of the urban African population was not as rapid during this period as it had been in the previous decade; but this was to some extent to be expected, for the extraordinary war-time conditions no longer operated.

Manufacturing industry has continued to expand since 1948. The Industrial Census of 1950/51 showed an increase of 2,032 factories since 1948.(1) The Minister of Economic Affairs has said that during the eight months ended 31st August, 1953, new undertakings and major expansions of existing industries, giving an estimated annual output of no less than £18 million, had been approved.(2) The gross value of factory production (expressed in constant prices based on 1910 figures) rose from £175 million in 1940 to £432 million in 1950.(3)

It is, however, too soon to tell whether existing urban industry will be handicapped by influx control measures. The pool of unemployed necessary to some types of industry in our modern economy will be reduced if not eliminated, and industrialists may find it difficult to find substitutes for African workers who wish to return to rural homes for holidays. On the other hand, as the workers become more stabilized they are likely to become more efficient. As is explained in the next section of this article, the Government is hoping to divert new industries away from the large towns.

The evidence in regard to the industrial labour situation is thus inconclusive; but, although the position has shown some improvement during recent months, existing industry has been handicapped by a shortage of capital, which shortage may have been due in part, as the Minister of Economic Affairs has acknowledged,(4) to a loss of confidence in the economic and social stability of South Africa. The shortage of capital has also caused transport, power and other services to lag behind the development of industrial enterprises. The Government has been forced to use the machinery of taxation to assist in financing its loan account, and the higher rate of taxation in turn has hampered the private section of the economy.

The shortage of labour on the mines continues. The percentage Union Africans formed of the total African labour force employed by members and contractors of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association again fell from 38.56 in 1950 to 37.14 in 1952,(5) the total number of Africans from the Union decreasing by 5,332 in the period. Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, M.P., recently said(6) that the gold mines were already short of some 50,000 African workers, and by 1958 they would need still a further 30,000. They have attempted to meet this situation

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- (1) Minister of Economic Affairs in Assembly, 2nd March, 1954. Hansard No. 5, Col. 1387.
 - (2) Address at annual congress of S. A. Federated Chamber of Industries, Nov. 1953. Text issued by State Information Office.
 - (3) Calculations by writer from figures given in Tables VI., III. and IV. of Dr. H. J. van Eck's paper Secondary Industry in the Union (1953).
 - (4) Press statement published in the "Rand Daily Mail", 15th June, 1953, and confirmed in other newspapers.
 - (5) Information from relevant reports of the W.N.L.A.
 - (6) Assembly, 17th February, 1954. Hansard 3, col. 676.

in various ways: one has been increased mechanization, but the degree of mechanization which can be introduced depends to a large extent on the abilities of the workers. They have increased the bonuses payable to migrant Africans returning to the mines, and, particularly in the Orange Free State, they planned to stabilize up to say ten per cent. of the more able workers, providing married quarters for them. This plan has, however, been checked by the Government on the ground that further "black spots" in "European" areas must not be created. So far, however, there has been no objection to the erection of further compounds for migrant workers in the same areas.

On the farms, between 1950 and 1952 the number of European labourers decreased by 3,924, and the number of Non-Europeans (including domestic servants) increased by 51,000. During the previous four years, however, the Non-European farm labour force had increased by 278,000. It appears that the rate of growth was actually slower after influx control measures had been tightened and in spite of the fact that average wages paid to Non-Europeans rose by 12½ per cent. during the period 1950 to 1952.(1) The statistics must be accepted with caution, however. One point of importance is that the percentage male workers form of the total is apparently decreasing: in 1946 roughly 1 Non-European farm employee in 5 was a woman, whereas by 1950 the proportion was 1 in 3. Secondly, the additional workers were not necessarily all people who would have been in urban areas had it not been for influx control measures. Some of them may previously have been enumerated as labour tenants.

Plans for Dispersal of Secondary Industry.

The Government plans to divert manufacturing industries away from the larger cities where African townships are seriously overcrowded to urban areas where housing can be provided, and preferably to this, to the borders of the Reserves.

The Minister of Native Affairs has said(2) "A long-term policy must exist for the development of completely suitable industrial areas, situated in such a way that Native labourers in the towns can live in their own areas ... There must be a transition period to meet the development until such properly situated industrial areas are available. In this transition period there may, however, not be such unwise and excessive establishment of industrial areas that one will be bound by them for longer in the future than is necessary." On another occasion he said,(3) "In certain urban areas where there is a tremendous backlog in the care for their workers and where they are unable or not prepared to provide sufficient land for location sites, it is deemed to be in the interests of industry and Native labourers that preference be given to industrial development in neighbouring urban areas where such location facilities do exist near the planned industrial areas."

In accordance with this policy, it is reported(4) that the Minister is opposing applications to establish new industrial townships in certain Reef towns where housing shortages exist. The Minister of Economic Affairs, replying to a question in the Assembly, said(5) that no definite steps had yet been taken to encourage the development of industry near Native areas, apart from the textile industry at Zwelitsha (established by the previous government). When the necessary raw materials, water, power and labour supply was readily available near a Native area, this would be brought to the notice of industrialists with a view to inducing them to locate there.

Apartheid /...

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- (1) Figures from 1951/52 Agricultural Census and previous Censuses.
 - (2) Quoted in State Information Office Newsletter 729 of 18th December, 1953.
 - (3) Assembly, 26th February, 1954. Hansard 4, cols. 1265 - 1266.
 - (4) "Star", 10th December, 1953.
 - (5) Assembly, 9th February, 1954. Hansard 2, col. 303.

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